

# The GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

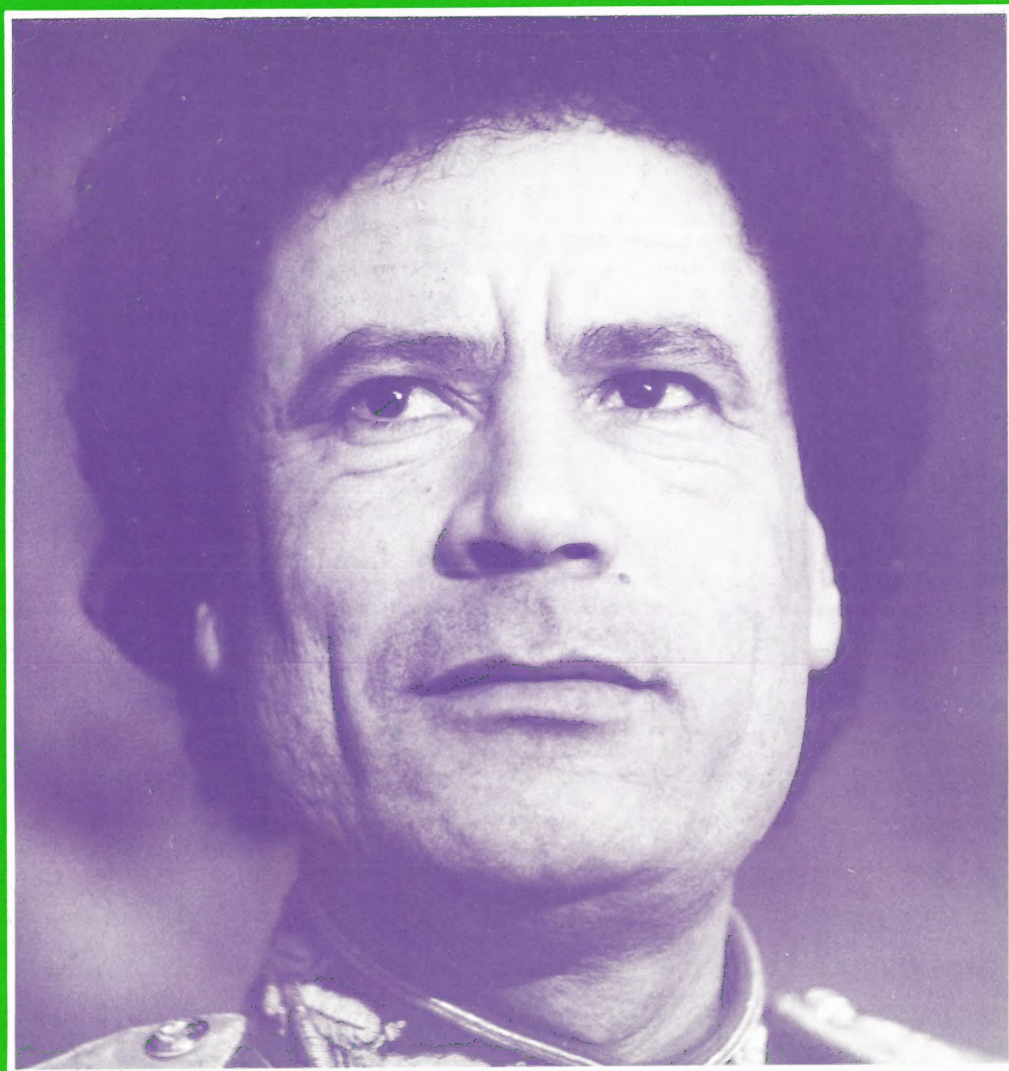
The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory



In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

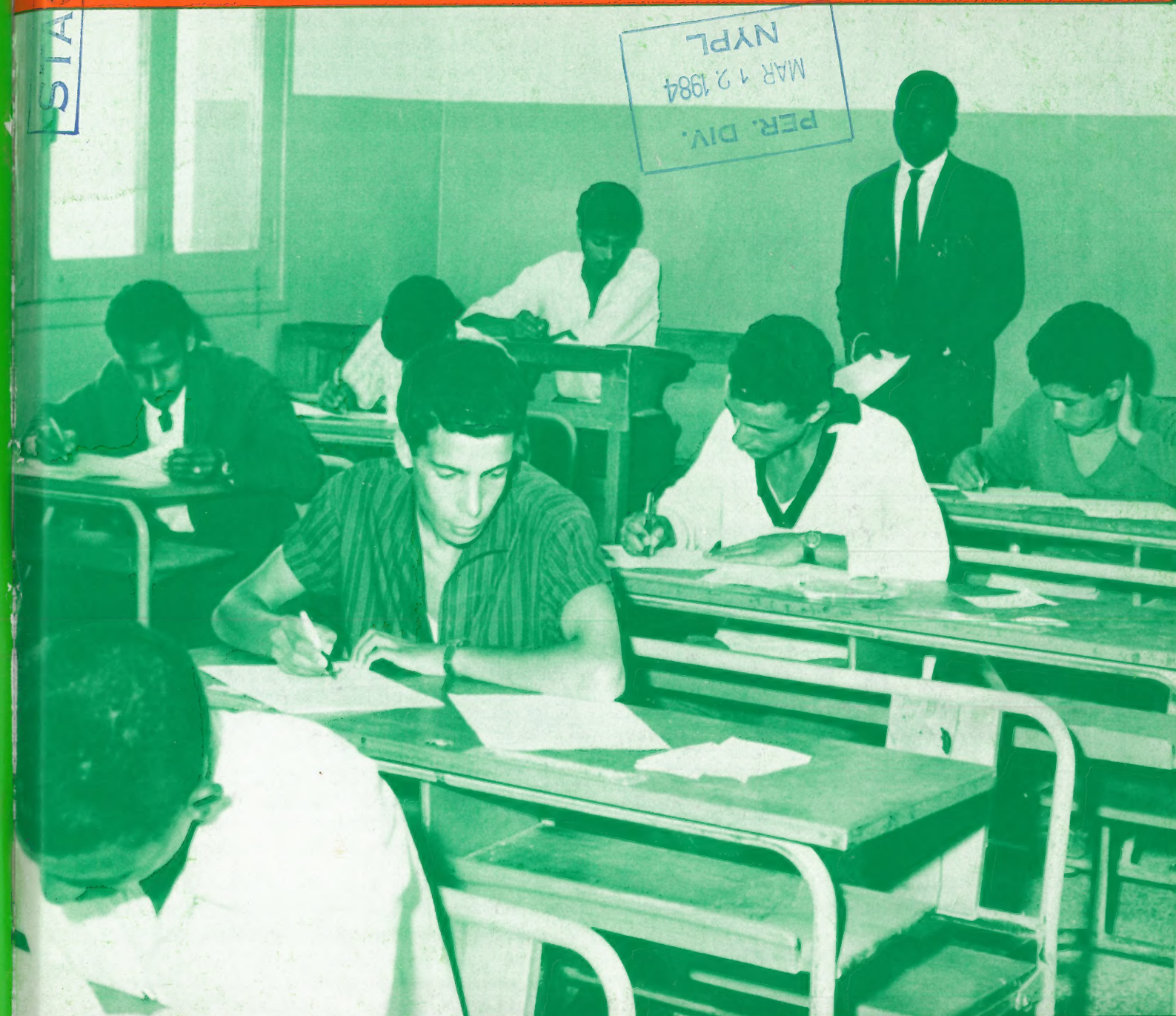
Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

# jamahiriya review

January 1984

Price 50p

Inside  
Direct democracy:  
Special report



## Dramatic progress in education

### REAGAN'S ECONOMIC WAR

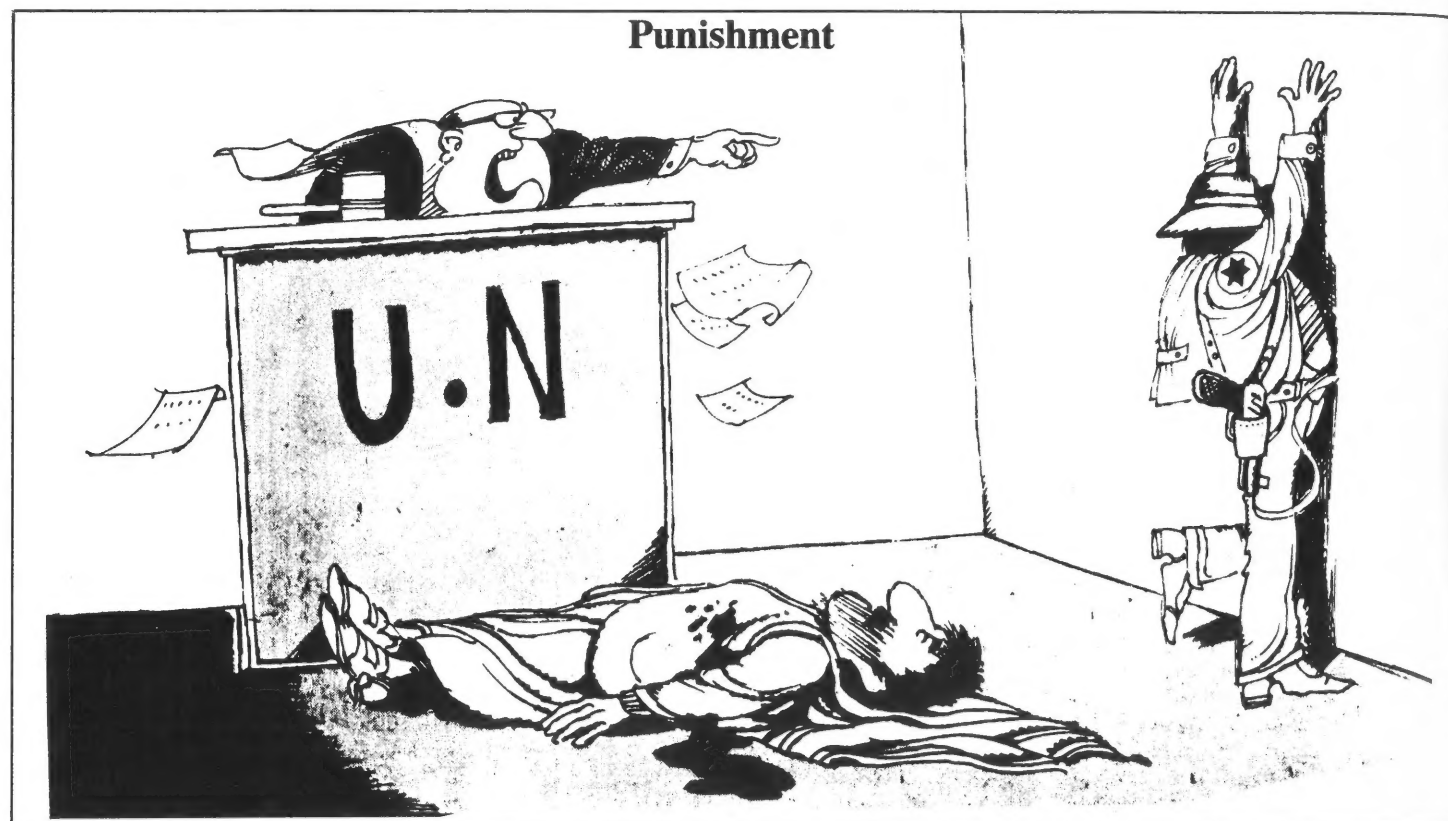
Washington's moves to intensify the trade war

### WITHDRAWAL OF WESTERN MILITARY UNITS FROM LEBANON

A key agreement at the Tripoli meeting between Qadhafi and Kreisky



Punishment



The Green March

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# jamahiriya review

January 1984 No 44

□ **DIRECT DEMOCRACY:** The Libyan Jamahiriya's Basic People's Congresses, which allow the entire population to a direct say in decision-making, have been meeting to decide policies for the coming year. In his role as Leader of the Revolution, Muammer Qadhafi is responsible for clarifying the issues under consideration at the BPCs. See page 9.

A special report on pages 10 and 11 examines the working of the jamahiri system of direct democracy, stressing the contrasts with traditional modes of government.

□ **REAGAN'S ECONOMIC WAR:** As part of its efforts to undermine and destabilise the Libyan Jamahiriya, the Reagan administration has imposed a series of economic sanctions against the Libyan people. There are clear indications that Washington is moving to intensify its trade war, and to attempt to organise a comprehensive Western economic boycott of the Libyan Jamahiriya; but there are also encouraging signs that West Europe wants no part in Reagan's latest scheme. A special report on America's economic war begins on page 12.

□ **INTERNATIONAL:** Dr Bruno Kreisky, Austria's elder statesman who was until recently the country's Chancellor, has been a strong advocate of closer ties between the Arab region and Western Europe, and has consistently sought dialogue with the Jamahiriya. On page 14 we review the outcome of recent talks in Tripoli between Dr Kreisky and Muammer Qadhafi, in which they agreed on the urgent need for a withdrawal of NATO forces from Lebanon and their replacement with a non-partisan force from neutral and Non-Aligned countries.

□ **EDUCATION:** During the thirty years' Italian occupation of Libya, the country's educational system was deliberately neglected, and there was little improvement under the regime of King Idris, who ruled Libya following nominal independence in 1951. An expansion of educational opportunities has been a consistent priority of the Al Fateh Revolution, and dramatic progress has been achieved. The Jamahiriya now boasts a free educational system, from kindergarten to university, which is the envy of other developing countries. A special report begins on page 15.

Published by Jamahiriya Review, 13A Hillgate Street, London W8 7SP, and printed by W F Aldridge & Company Limited, London SW16 6NW. We acknowledge the co-operation of JANA, the Jamahiriya News Agency, in providing its daily news information bulletin.

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## Arafat sells out

WESTERN INTERESTS in the Arab homeland received a major boost on 22nd December, when Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, conferred in Cairo with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, despite the comprehensive Arab boycott imposed on Egypt in 1979 following its conclusion of the Camp David peace treaty with the Zionist state. Mubarak has remained true to Camp David, and has maintained relations with the Israelis, despite the Zionists' continuing refusal to recognise Palestinian rights, and despite the savage Israeli invasion of Lebanon, in which 20,000 Arabs died. By meeting with Mubarak, Arafat, in effect, gave his blessing to Camp David.

Over the years, Arafat has gained a wholly deserved reputation for his instinct for survival. Throughout a turbulent decade in the Arab homeland, in which the Israelis and their US backers have played a key role, Arafat has managed to retain his role on the Arab and international stage. The fact that he has done so at any price to the Palestinian cause has been largely overlooked.

The PLO Chairman can hardly be accused of consistency. Rather, he has bent whichever way the regional and international winds have blown him. Increasingly, these have urged him to come to terms with Israel, and to accept a negotiated settlement entailing the establishment of a Palestinian state on the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, in exchange for formal recognition of the Zionists' occupation of Palestinian lands seized in 1948.

Washington has moved towards a similar formula. On 1st September 1982, President Reagan announced his so-called 'peace plan'. This, he said, would entail 'self-government' for the Palestinians in the 1967 occupied territories 'in association with Jordan'. Israel would end its colonisation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and would pull its forces back to the 1967 frontiers. Reagan was careful, however, to rule out the possibility of a fully-fledged independent Palestinian state, and he excluded any role for the PLO in negotiations. Instead, the Jordanian regime was to speak for the West Bank Palestinians.

Predictably, the Zionists rejected outright even this clumsy and fudged US formula. If nothing else, Tel Aviv does, at least, have a clear and consistent policy: territorial aggrandisement at the expense of the Arab nation.

Washington's problem is that it is caught in a cleft stick. On the one hand, it must please its Zionist allies. On the other, it must placate Arab opinion by token gestures on behalf of the Palestinians. Western-backed regimes in the Arab homeland need such gestures so that they can claim no contradiction between their links with Washington and Washington's support for the Zionists.

Astonishing gullibility has been shown by those Arab regimes which have pinned their hopes on Washington for a Palestinian settlement. If the Americans were sincerely interested in forcing a compromise on the Zionists, they could have done so years ago. They possess a full range of military, economic and political levers on the Israelis. A more realistic conclusion is that the Americans are quite content to allow the Arab-Zionist conflict to simmer indefinitely, provided that the negative impact on western interests can be contained.

The Reagan 'peace plan' marked the inauguration of yet another round in the process. While Zionist forces were massacring Arabs in Beirut with American weapons, Washington suddenly came up with its new 'peace initiative', designed to bolster Arab patience with the United States. The Camp David process under the Carter administration represented a similar effort to assuage Arab doubts about US support for Israel, by creating the impression of genuine American concern for the plight of the Palestinians.

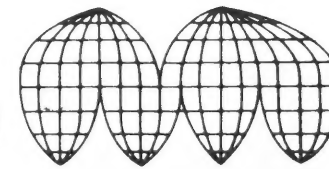
There is nothing in the history of US involvement in the Arab region to suggest that Washington has any other than its own interests at stake – and unconditional support for the Zionist state lies at the heart of those interests. Equally, it is axiomatic that the interests of the Zionists run directly counter to those of the Palestinian people and Arab nation.

It is, therefore, astonishing to see the leader of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, giving his seal of approval to a regime in Cairo which is so closely wedded to the Americans. The dilemma for the Arab nation has been clearly spelled out by Muammar Qadhafi. The Arabs imposed a boycott on Egypt in support of the Palestinians, and in retaliation for Sadat's peace treaty with Israel. Now, the leader of the Palestinians has unilaterally abrogated the Arab boycott by meeting Mubarak. Are the Arabs supposed to maintain a boycott which the Palestinians themselves appear not to want?

A powerful pro-American bloc has been emerging in the Arab region in recent years, linking Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Sudan. Now, it apparently includes the PLO. The coming months will doubtless see much talk centring on the Reagan 'peace plan', which has been wholeheartedly endorsed by all the Arab regimes in the western camp. Already, Jordan's King Hussein has reconvened his Parliament, including the deputies from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, as a prelude to taking on his appointed role in the Reagan 'peace process'. Arafat has indicated that he envisages an early meeting with the Jordanian monarch.

By throwing in his lot with the Americans and their local surrogate regimes, Arafat may have ensured a continuing role for himself on the world stage. But there is nothing to suggest that justice for the Palestinian and Arab peoples will be brought any nearer.

A monthly  
review of  
Libyan, Islamic  
and Third World  
affairs



PANORAMA  
news review

## New Year's message urges reconciliation

CENTURIES OF nationalist antagonism between Christian and Muslim peoples have created an atmosphere of deep distrust, which can be overcome only by an honest reassessment of the Biblical message and its relationship with the Islamic faith. This was the central thrust of a special message addressed by the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi to leaders of Christian countries to mark the start of the New Year.

The revolutionary leader recalled that Muslims had always believed Jesus to be one of a series of prophets whom God had sent to prepare mankind for the coming of his final messenger, the Prophet Muhammad. However, the place of Christ in the Islamic faith was virtually unknown in Christian countries. The Quran, the Islamic Holy Book, had been ignored because of 'blind nationalistic fanaticism against the Arab nation', declared Muammar Qadhafi.

There was an urgent need for Christian countries to re-examine the Biblical message, and to discover the close links between Christianity and Islam. Calling on Christians to study the Quran in order to 'discover the full truth', he said that 'the new generation in the Christian world should launch a cultural revolution to transform belief'. The West, he averred, required 'men like Savonarola, Martin Luther and Calvin'.

Muammar Qadhafi said that it would be unrealistic of him to expect the leaders of the NATO military alliance to act in accordance with Christian principles of love and tolerance. Their record showed them to be 'the incarnation of hatred', and he contrasted their deep-seated hostility to the Arab and Islamic peoples with the Biblical prohibition on theft and killing, and with the central role of charity in Christ's teachings.



headed a high-level delegation which included the Foreign and Defence Ministers, and the Commander in Chief of the Mediterranean island's armed forces.

Few details of the talks have been released, but a communique said that the two sides had discussed 'the current world situation, and in particular the increased tension in the Mediterranean basin'. Also on the agenda was 'means of strengthening relations and co-operation between Libya and Malta'.

Maltese envoys have paid frequent visits to the Jamahiriya in recent years, but the January meeting was the first between Muammar Qadhafi and Dom Mintoff since March 1982, when the Libyan leader visited Malta on his way home from talks in Vienna with the then Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. Prior to the Valletta meeting, relations between the Jamahiriya and Malta had been strained by a dispute over off-shore oil drilling rights. At Valletta, it was agreed that the dispute should be referred to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, paving the way for warmer ties.

## World backing for reparations claim

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's claim for war reparations from Italy and other European countries has won backing from the United Nations and from the Islamic Conference Organisation.

On 19th December the UN General Assembly approved a

resolution submitted by Libya, which affirmed that abandoned munitions had severely hampered the development programmes of Third World countries and had inflicted terrible human losses. Voting was 121 in favour, with 23 abstentions and none against.

There was a clear split, however, between western countries and developing nations over the question of responsibility for clearing abandoned munitions. A paragraph in the resolution affirming that it was not the responsibility of developing countries to remove war materials was voted on separately from the full resolution. 123 countries were in favour, and six against: the United Kingdom, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Holland and Luxembourg.

The General Assembly also expressed regret that no practical steps had yet been taken to resolve the problem of abandoned war material, despite the many resolutions on the subject, and the world body urged concerned countries to enter bilateral negotiations on the issue. The Libyan Jamahiriya has for some years been seeking reparations from the European countries which used Libya as a World War II battlefield, wreaking widespread material destruction and killing or maiming thousands of innocent Libyans. Tripoli has also been demanding reparations from Italy in respect of the colonial occupation of Libya which lasted from 1911 until the Second World War. The Italian invasion sparked a determined resistance campaign by the Libyan people, to which Rome responded with extreme savagery. Civilians were routinely bombed and strafed from Italian aircraft,

and thousands died in a string of concentration camps established along the coast. The Italian aggression cost the lives of more than 700,000 Libyans.

When the European powers departed from Libya after the Second World War, they left behind hundreds of thousands of unexploded land mines and bombs, and hundreds of Libyans have been killed or maimed in accidental detonations of these munitions.

The presence of hidden explosives has also severely hampered the Jamahiriya's development projects, particularly those involving excavations.

The Jamahiriya's campaign to win justice from Italy was renewed by Muammar Qadhafi on 7th October, in his address marking Vengeance Day – the Thirteenth Anniversary of the expulsion from Libya of the remnants of the Italian settler community. He declared: 'We are still seeking justice from Italy in respect of crimes committed against the Libyan people,' adding: 'As of today, the Libyan people should act to force Italy to pay the price of its aggression and its colonisation of Libyan territory.'

Further backing for Tripoli's claim came at last month's meeting in Bangladesh of Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference Organisation. On 21st December the Jamahiriya news agency, JANA, disclosed that the meeting had 'pledged its backing for the Jamahiriya in its demand for war reparations and compensation from the colonialist governments for the human and material losses' caused by their military actions in Libya earlier this century. ▶





Watching the Syrians: US soldier in Lebanon

## ► Outrage at US air raids

THOUSANDS OF Libyans took to the streets of Benghazi on 5th December to stage an angry protest demonstration against United States air strikes against Syrian and Lebanese nationalist positions in Lebanon, and to affirm the Jamahiriya's stand against escalating American efforts to impose Washington's will on the Lebanese and Arab peoples.

The protest followed raids in the Lebanese mountains, near Deir al Beida, Jabal Kenyset and Sofar on 4th December by 28 American carrier-based warplanes. During the attacks, three planes were shot down, and one of the pilots was taken to Damascus as a Prisoner of War. The attacks marked a serious escalation of America's military role in Lebanon. US forces originally arrived in Beirut as part of a multinational peace-keeping force. The US military presence in the city and off Lebanese shores has since expanded dramatically, and the US forces have taken a direct hand in the country's internal conflicts, turning their guns on Syrian and progressive Lebanese positions.

The Benghazi protestors issued a statement affirming that Washington 'no longer respects or recognises any international charters or customs', and 'no longer takes any notice of world public opinion'. It had become the 'leader of world terrorism', and posed a 'real danger to international peace'. The protestors called on the United Nations to take effective action to counter the dangerous American moves in Lebanon, and appealed to the Arab nation to 'escalate the struggle against its enemies'.

The Benghazi statement echoed a commentary issued on 4th December by the Political Editor of the Jamahiriya news agency

JANA, condemning the raids as having 'dangerously raised the threat of war in the region'. In the past, the United States had been content to use the Zionist state as a proxy, but now America had 'decided to fight directly, creating a new cauldron of tension in the region'. It was a move which would have 'dangerous repercussions on the region's peoples and on world peace and security'.

The US objective, said the JANA Political Editor, was to force Syria to withdraw its peacekeeping troops from Lebanon, 'leaving this Arab country open to US and Zionist forces'. The Arabs now 'had no choice but to engage in resolute self defence, and to mobilise all their resources to counter the growing aggression'. It was 'the Arab nation's duty to stand beside the Syrian people to foil this aggression'.

## Jalloud warns of 'new Vietnam'

THE LIBYAN people's unreserved support for Syria and for Lebanese nationalist groups in their confrontation with US and other western forces in Lebanon has been reaffirmed by Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud. Addressing a press conference in Damascus on 9th December, he referred to the 'organic link between the Libyan and Syrian peoples', and declared: 'We stand shoulder to shoulder. The capabilities of both peoples are united, and whatever may befall Syria befalls us all.'

The Jamahiriya and Syria held identical views on the need to free Lebanon from invading forces, said Major Jalloud, and added that the Jamahiriya also stands 'with all its resources' behind the Lebanese National Salvation Front, a grouping of progressive and Islamic

communities in Lebanon which opposes the Israeli and Western presence in their country.

Warning Washington that a full-scale military invasion of Syria would prove extremely costly, Major Jalloud declared that Lebanon and Syria 'are not Grenada', and added that 'the spectre of a new Vietnam is looming over the American people'.

The Libyan envoy reaffirmed Tripoli's view that the US 'peacekeeping forces' in Beirut were in fact 'aggressive occupation forces', opposed to Lebanon's nationalist and Islamic communities.

Major Jalloud was speaking during a ten-day tour which took him to Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen and Syria, in the course of which he conferred with Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of Ethiopia's Provisional Military Administrative Council, with Yemeni President Ali Nasser Muhammad, and with Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul Halim Khaddam. Major Jalloud also held talks with Palestinian resistance officials, and with Mr Walid Jumblatt, leader of Lebanon's Muslim Druze community, who have been a principal target for US military action in recent months.

## 'Armed People' launched

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya plans to run-down, and eventually abolish, its regular military forces, and replace them with a national defence system involving the population as a whole. All Libyans will receive training on the full range of weapons in the arsenals of the country's defence wings, including items such as tanks and fighter aircraft. The replacement of the professional armed forces with what

Libyans term the 'armed people', will enable each citizen to play a direct and personal role in Libyan and Arab defence.

On 28th November the Jamahiriya new agency, JANA, announced that a new monthly magazine, entitled the *Armed People*, had been launched, which will specialise in news and feature reports on aspects of the 'armed people' system. JANA added that the new journal will also carry articles on 'literary, scientific, technical and mathematical topics'.

## Maghreb unity moves intensify

MOVES TOWARDS the unity of the Arab countries of north west Africa, in which the Jamahiriya is playing a key role, have intensified in recent weeks, with the conclusion by Tripoli of important economic co-operation agreements with Tunisia and Morocco.

The Libyan-Tunisian accord, signed on 15th December, covered the electricity, transport and housing sectors. Calling for a general improvement of the transportation links between the two countries, the agreement stipulated that both peoples will contribute to the cost of the new trans-frontier Unity Road, which will join Ras Jedir in Libya with the Tunisian town of Medenin, and reaffirmed the importance of the planned railway which will link the Libyan capital, Tripoli, with the south Tunisian town of Sfax.

The two countries reiterated their intention to link their electricity grids, and called for increased co-operation in technical training and in personnel exchanges in the transport and electricity sectors.

The accord, which was initiated by the Jamahiriya's Communications and Marine Transport Secretary, Mr Bukhari Salem Hudah, and by Tunisian Minister of Transport and Communications, Mr Sadek Ben Jema'a, provided for closer co-ordination of the two countries' housing sectors, calling in particular for increased exchanges of information and personnel. The two sides agreed to study the possibility of establishing special offices in each country, charged with collating information on housing sector developments.

The Libyan-Moroccan agreement was signed the same day as the Tripoli-Tunis accord, and provided for greater collaboration in the construction sector. In particular, the two countries agreed to examine the scope for launching joint ventures, and to boost exchanges of construction workers. The agreement was initiated in Tripoli by Mr Muhammad Ubaid Shukri, the Jamahiriya's Utilities

Secretary, and by the visiting Moroccan Minister of Equipment, Mr Muhammad Kabbaj.

The growing momentum of Maghreb unity moves was also highlighted on 1st December, when a meeting in Tunis of the Joint Libyan-Tunisian Economic Committee ended with a decision to set up specialised committees to examine the scope for expanded co-operation in the fields of trade, agriculture, industry and investment.

Shortly after, on 5th December, Ibrahim Faqi Hassan, Libya's Social Security Secretary, conferred in Tunis with Mr Abdul Razak Shalabi, Tunisia's Minister of Tourism. Talks centred on ways of boosting tourist exchanges between the two countries.

Over the past two years Tripoli has launched major unionist initiatives with Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania and Morocco. The Jamahiriya asserts that the harmonisation of domestic and foreign policies is an essential first step towards ultimate unity between the Maghreb countries, and argues that the best way of co-ordinating policies is through joint meetings of decision-making bodies. Already there have been joint meetings between the Jamahiriya's General Popular Committee and the cabinets of Algeria and Tunisia, and similar meetings are projected with Morocco and Mauritania. Libya also insists that economic integration should be the cornerstone of wider unity between the Maghreb countries.

## UN condemns US-Zionist alliance

THE RECENTLY agreed strategic alliance between the United States and Israel has been roundly condemned by the United Nations, which has affirmed that the treaty will encourage Israel to step up its aggressions against the Arab nation.

On 19th December the UN General Assembly passed a resolution which affirmed that the accord 'will increase Israel's intransigence and its war potential, and escalate its expansionist and annexationist policies'. All countries, and 'particularly the United States', were urged to 'refrain from taking any step that would support Israel's war capabilities and consequently its aggressive acts'.

The resolution, which was introduced by Arab countries, was adopted by 81 votes in favour, with 27 against and 29 abstentions.

The US-Israeli co-operation agreement was endorsed on 29th November at a meeting in Washington between President Ronald Reagan and Zionist pre-



SWAPO soldiers: Fighting for the freedom of occupied Namibia

mier Yitzhak Shamir. The accord provides for increased American military and economic support for the Zionist state, and for regular meetings to co-ordinate political and military strategy.

□ The US-Zionist strategic co-operation agreement was examined in the December 1983 issue of *Jamahiriya Review*.

## Specialist library inaugurated

A SPECIALIST library stocked with documentation on the ideology of the Al Fateh Revolution has been formally opened in the Libyan capital, Tripoli. The Al Fakr al Jamahiri (Jamahiri Ideology) Library is attached to the International Centre for Green Book Studies and Research. The *Green Book*, by Muammer Qadhafi, sets out the Al Fateh Revolution's guiding principles.

The new library was officially inaugurated at a ceremony on 4th January, attended by the Secretary of the International Centre for Green Book Studies and Research, by Dr Ahmad al Sharif, Secretary of the Tripoli-based Islamic Call Society, and by Dr Dior Valaskes, Chancellor of Warsaw University, which recently hosted a special international symposium on the *Green Book*.

## Sanctions demanded against Pretoria

TRIPOLI HAS called on the United Nations to impose stringent sanctions on the South African apartheid regime in a bid to halt Pre-

toria's repeated aggressions against the people of Angola and to halt its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Addressing a Security Council meeting on 19th December, Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative to the world body, also affirmed that the racist regime posed a threat to all the peoples of southern Africa. He pledged the Jamahiriya's full support for Angola and other Front Line countries in their defensive efforts against South African aggression.

The Security Council had been called into emergency session to discuss the massive and unprovoked invasion of Angola, launched by Pretoria last month in a bid to thwart an imminent offensive by guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation, SWAPO, which is fighting for the independence of South African-occupied Namibia. The invasion involved a mechanised division, heavy artillery units and 20,000 infantry, backed by air strikes. The invading forces were repelled after stubborn resistance by Angolan and SWAPO fighters assisted by Cuban units.

## Ties boosted with Hungary and Poland

THE JAMAHIRIYA's ties with Hungary and Poland were boosted in late November during an official visit to the two East European countries by Brigadier Mustapha Kharroubi, Chief of Staff of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces.

In Hungary, Brigadier Kharroubi conferred with his counterpart, Mr Pal Losonczy, who is also a member of the Politburo and Chairman of the Presidential

Council. On 28th November the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that discussions had 'affirmed the need for bolstering bilateral Libyan Arab-Hungarian co-operation in all fields'.

Other highlights of Brigadier Kharroubi's visit to Hungary were a tour of an Air Defence College, where he watched a practical training session, and an inspection of the Raba industrial complex, where most of the country's trucks, trailers and agricultural vehicles are manufactured.

The Libyan Chief of Staff went on from Budapest to Warsaw, where he held talks with the Polish Defence Minister, General Florian Siwicki, focussing, said JANA, on 'bilateral relations in all fields, and methods of both developing and widening their scope'. On 29th November the two military leaders initialled a long-term bilateral agreement, providing for increased military and economic collaboration.

While in Poland, Brigadier Kharroubi conferred with the Rector of Warsaw University, which recently hosted a special International Symposium on the Third Universal Theory, which encapsulates the key principles of the Jamahiriya and the Al Fateh Revolution. The Libyan Chief of Staff also visited the headquarters of the Warsaw military region.

The Libyan Jamahiriya is firmly wedded to policies of non-alignment, asserting the right of smaller nations to conduct their affairs free from the hegemony of any of the world's superpower blocs. Non-Alignment does not, however, imply a rejection of friendly relations with the superpowers and their allies. Libya, like other members of the Non-Aligned Movement, welcomes such ties, but insists that they should be mutually beneficial and respectful, and that they should not be based on the



► exploitation of the weaker party by the stronger. Generally, however, the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe have shown more sympathy than the United States and NATO for the aspirations of non-aligned countries. It has naturally followed that countries like the Jamahiriya have generally enjoyed closer links with the Soviet Union and its allies than with Washington, and have in fact tended to turn to Moscow as a counter to US pressures.

## Drought relief for Africa

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has been moving to alleviate the impact of the severe drought afflicting vast areas of sub-Saharan Africa. On 21st December Nouakchott radio announced that emergency relief supplies received by Mauritania had included 3,000 tonnes of barley from Libya.

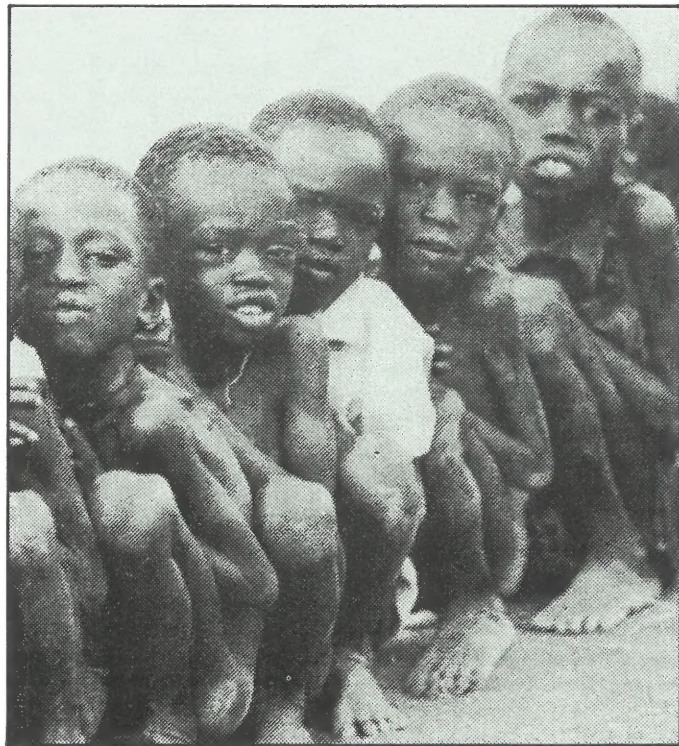
Earlier, on 13th December, Harare radio disclosed that the Libyan Ambassador to Zimbabwe had donated \$20,000 for medicines and \$10,000 for food, and added that an eight-man delegation from the Tripoli-based Islamic Call Society, a Muslim missionary organisation, had arrived in the country to study conditions in drought-stricken areas.

The same day, Kampala radio announced that an Islamic Call Society delegation had ended a one month's visit to Uganda, during which it had donated over twenty million shillings to help finance medical and other social development projects in the Arua District. The delegation had held a meeting with Ugandan Vice President Paulo Muwanga, during which the Libyan team, headed by Dr Younis Muhammad, had stressed that assistance provided by the Islamic Call Society would benefit all people, regardless of their religion.

## Grenada People's Bureau ransacked

THE LIBYAN People's Bureau in the Grenadian capital, St George's was forcibly entered by five American intelligence agents shortly after the US invasion of the Caribbean island. Tripoli radio disclosed on 7th December, saying that the agents had 'searched the bureau, in blatant violation of international laws and diplomatic norms'.

A key pretext for the unprovoked invasion of Grenada was that the island had become a centre for 'regional subversion', in which Libya, along with those other of



Children are the first to suffer the effects of malnutrition

Reagan's *bete noires*, Cuba and the Soviet Union, were alleged to have been involved. Presumably the US intelligence agents were seeking documents which would prove Reagan's point. Evidently nothing was found; not a shred of evidence has been produced to suggest that the St George's People's Bureau was involved in anything other than the normal activities of any bona fide diplomatic mission.

## Oil Secretary heads OPEC council

MR KAMAL Hassan Maqhur, the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Oil, has become the new President of the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). He was unanimously elected by Ministers attending the Council's 69th meeting, which convened in Geneva on 7th December. Dr Subroto, Indonesian Minister of Mines and Energy, was elected as Alternate President. Mr Maqhur took over from Dr Mana Saeed Oteiba, Petroleum and Mineral Resources Minister of the United Arab Emirates, whose term of office had been completed.

On taking up his new post, Mr Maqhur expressed his willingness 'to shoulder the responsibility of heading the organisation at such a difficult time', adding: 'I hope my colleagues will inspire me with the wisdom to serve them and the organisation'.

He continued: 'OPEC is an

organisation of a group of peoples who are trying to safeguard their interests'. They had encountered many difficulties in the past, and would doubtless experience more. 'In trying to defend themselves and their interests, they have made many enemies who want to destroy them,' said Mr Maqhur, declaring: 'I will work to defeat our enemies and keep the organisation strong.'

The OPEC Conference ended on 9th December with decisions to maintain its existing price and production ceilings, and Mr Maqhur declared that this would be 'beneficial not only to OPEC countries, but also to the world economy'.

In the past two years the recession in the industrialised western countries has resulted in a world oil glut, and the consequent falling oil prices have led to lower revenues for oil exporters. Mr Maqhur stressed that OPEC's efforts to improve the international economic climate would succeed only if complementary measures were taken by other countries: 'We in OPEC are doing our best to resolve the problem, and we therefore expect other countries to play their fullest role, and do their best in meeting the challenges.'

## Qadhafi confers with Gemayel

A DETERMINATION to expel foreign occupation armies from Lebanon, and to halt American and wider western escalation of the crisis was expressed during a meeting in the Libyan capital Tripoli on 16th December between

Muammar Qadhafi and Lebanese President Amin Gemayel.

On 21st December the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that the two leaders had held an 'extended session', also attended by Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud, in which they had discussed 'the complex situation in Lebanon, and the circumstances through which the country is going'.

JANA said that the discussions 'emphasised that serious work on Arab and international levels should be carried out to evict foreign occupation forces', and added that agreement was also reached on 'the necessity of stopping aggression by American aircraft and warships and NATO forces'. JANA disclosed that both sides had 'emphasised their wish for co-operation and consultation between Lebanese communities which would guarantee the stability of the country on a sound and democratic basis'.

On 18th December the *Sunday Times* quoted Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan as saying that the Qadhafi-Gemayel meeting had proved 'important and beneficial'.

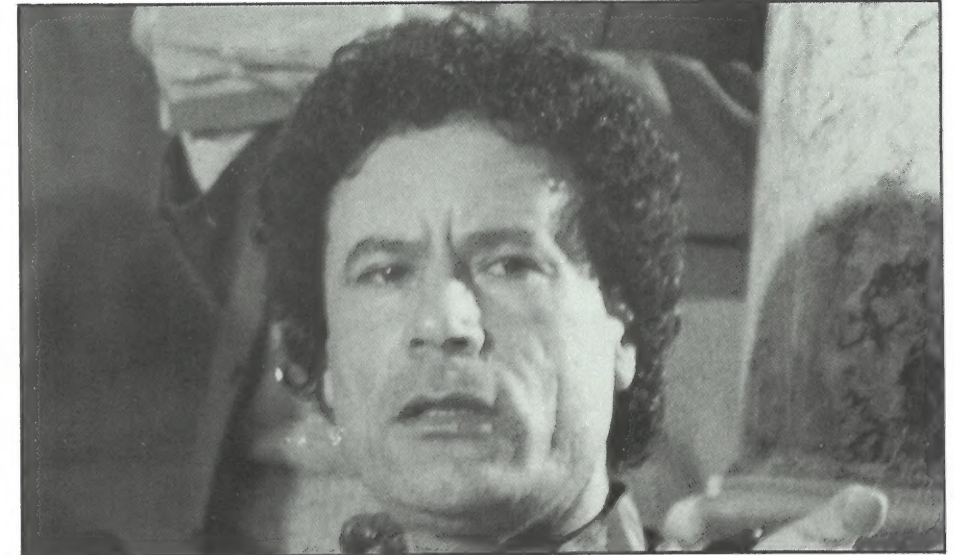
## Students discuss jamahiri system

REVOLUTIONARY LEADER Muammar Qadhafi on 7th December held a special meeting with students and academic staff at Benghazi's Garyounis University to discuss Libya's jamahiri system of direct democracy, in which the Libyan people determine their own affairs through the debates and resolutions of a country-wide network of people's congresses.

On 8th December the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that Colonel Qadhafi's meeting with the Garyounis students and staff had come 'as part of his efforts to advise on ways of sustaining and strengthening people's authority'.

The meeting followed a series of special seminars at Garyounis and other educational establishments, convened by students to examine how best they can contribute to bolstering the jamahiri system. On 10th November the Educational Congress at Garyounis Faculty of Education and Arts held an emergency session on the topic, and two weeks later the university's Faculty of Medicine convened a similar meeting, under the slogan 'For Further Entrenchment of the Revolution in the New Generation of Doctors'. Other meetings have been staged by the Universities' General Educational Congress, the forum for students at all the Jamahiriya's universities.

**UNDER THE jamahiri system of direct democracy, the people as a whole determine their affairs by attending the debates of their Basic People's Congresses. In his role as Leader of the Revolution, Muammar Qadhafi is entrusted with clarifying the key issues on the BPCs' agenda, and last month he did so at a special women's meeting in Tripoli.**



## Qadhafi clarifies the issues

REVOLUTIONARY LEADER Muammar Qadhafi has reaffirmed the vital importance of Arab unity as the only practical means of maintaining regional independence. In a review of key issues on the agenda of the Basic People's Congresses, he also discussed ways in which socialist principles might be applied in the Jamahiriya's utility sectors, such as electricity and broadcasting, and he examined the scope for expanded voluntary and collective work programmes to boost the country's overall level of economic growth and self-sufficiency.

Addressing a women's gathering at the Tripoli BPC on 22nd December, Colonel Qadhafi affirmed that western imperialist powers were determined to 'steal our oil and our strategic geographical position, and to infiltrate their armies into the region to control its vital waterways: the Suez Canal, the Straits of Hormuz, Bab al Mandeb, and the Straits of Gibraltar'.

The Jamahiriya was at the forefront of Arab resistance to western plans, and had therefore become a key target for destabilisation and occupation. Muammar Qadhafi stressed that the Libyan people did not by themselves command the resources to thwart western designs on the region, and Libyans should, therefore, struggle to achieve Arab unity. Only a unified Arab homeland could effectively 'stand up to America and halt Zionist expansionism'.

'When we merge together,' the Libyan leader stressed, 'the Arab world will not be another Grenada, to be snapped up by the United States. It would be impossible for America to swallow the Arab nation, from the (Atlantic) Ocean to the (Arabian) Gulf, if it were unified as one force'.

Turning to domestic issues, Muammar Qadhafi reviewed ways in which socialist economic relationships might be applied more widely within the Jamahiriya. In most of Libya's directly productive establishments, workers are rewarded for their efforts directly, by sharing in profits. In the public utilities, however, such as electricity generation, housing and broadcasting, trad-

itional work systems remain in force. Employees take home a regular salary, with payments coming from the Jamahiriya's general budget.

It was important, said Muammar Qadhafi, for the BPCs to decide in principle whether to transform these public service establishments into partnerships, along the lines of those in factories and other productive enterprises. 'These establishments could be transformed into companies, with customers paying for the various services provided,' he suggested. This would also encourage 'the people working in the electricity, housing and communications firms to work more vigorously', since they would have a direct stake in the success of their enterprises. At the same time, it would relieve pressure on the Jamahiriya's public spending, at a time when the country was still suffering the adverse consequences of the international oil glut.

The Libyan leader also clarified the thinking behind voluntary work schemes, and stressed the success of collective work programmes. Voluntary work schemes, which

the BPCs are considering introducing, would involve citizens undertaking non-productive jobs without pay. The salaries of those who formerly held these jobs would be saved, and at the same time the former workers would become available 'to take a productive job elsewhere'.

In recent years, a series of collective work programmes has been organised in the Jamahiriya, in which thousands of citizens have joined forces to undertake development schemes. In particular, a series of highly effective afforestation programmes have been implemented in the highlands of the north east and north west. In his address to the women's meeting, Muammar Qadhafi reaffirmed the importance of such programmes as a means of assuring the completion of the country's development programme on schedule.

Throughout the revolutionary leader's address, however, he stressed that decisions on the issues facing the country must come from the people themselves. His own role was merely to clarify the items on the BPCs' agenda, and to offer suggestions.

## The Arab nation's dilemma

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on 22nd December has posed a serious dilemma for Arab countries, Muammar Qadhafi has declared, since it made a nonsense of the Arab boycott of Egypt, imposed after Sadat concluded his peace treaty with the Zionist state.

In his address to the women's meeting in Tripoli, the Libyan leader noted: 'The issue between us and the Israelis is the occupation of Palestine. If Yasser Arafat is the defender of the Palestinian cause, and meets with the Egyptian President who recognises what is called Israel, then our policy has been stood on its head.'

He asked: 'If Arafat, the representative of the Palestinian cause, mends fences with the President of a regime which recognises the enemy, what are the rest of the Arabs to do? Aren't we all working for the Palestinian cause?'

The Libyan revolutionary leader encapsulated the dilemma by declaring: 'We boycotted Egypt for Palestine. And now the leader of Palestine is in Egypt,' and he concluded by saying that if Yasser Arafat was still the representative of the Palestinian cause, then 'we no longer have any justification for boycotting Egypt'.





The GPC meets annually in regular session and also holds emergency sessions to decide urgent issues

## Accountability is the key

WHEN MUAMMER Qadhafi and the Free Unionist Officers Movement toppled the corrupt regime of King Idris on 1st September 1969, their objective was not the replacement of one authoritarian system with another. The Al Fateh Revolution was not just another military coup; it was a genuine effort to create a radical shift in the balance of power within Libya – from the government to the people. Gradually over the past fourteen years, the revolutionary leadership has moved to place responsibility for the country's basic domestic and foreign affairs squarely in the hands of the people, through a system of direct democracy in which decision-making powers are vested in a network of local congresses, open to all citizens.

From the outset, the Revolution has rejected western modes of parliamentary democracy, asserting that they are, in fact, inherently undemocratic. Muammar Qadhafi insists that parliamentary systems, far from allowing the people an effective voice in running their affairs, merely place real power in the hands of a small group of professional politicians who, except perhaps in the run-up to elections, can often function without reference to the wishes of the people they supposedly represent.

Moreover, the Al Fateh Revolution rejects the need for political parties, asserting that they merely institutionalise divisions within societies, and that in a truly classless and egalitarian society, such as that being constructed in the Jamahiriya, there should, in any case, be no such fundamental rifts between the interests of different sections of the population.

In the years following the Revolution, a series of experiments were launched, aimed at enabling the people to administer their

**LAST MONTH, the Jamahiriya's Basic People's Congresses convened to discuss items on the agenda for the forthcoming meeting of the General People's Congress – the Libyan legislature. In this special report, Ali Aziz examines the workings of the jamahiri system of direct democracy, and looks at some of the issues being decided by the Libyan people.**

affairs directly. A landmark came in 1973, when Muammar Qadhafi delivered a speech at the coastal town of Zuwara in which he urged workers, students, and local government officials to set up committees to run their places of work and study. The system proved a success, and was extended to other areas of Libyan society. The process climaxed in March 1977, when a specially convened congress in the southern town of Sebha proclaimed the abolition of all traditional governmental institutions, and their replacement by the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy. At the same time, the country's name was changed from the Libyan Arab Republic to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. In Arabic, 'Jamahiriya' means 'state of the masses'.

The key element in the *jamahiri* system is a country-wide network of Basic People's Congresses (BPCs), each embracing a local

community. The BPCs are grassroots forums, open to all citizens in the locality, and are the highest decision-making authority in the land. The BPCs do not confine their deliberations to local affairs. All Libyan policy issues are debated and decided, from local through to national and international levels.

In country areas, BPCs tend to coincide with villages and small towns. In the larger cities, however, there is a BPC for each urban neighbourhood. Each BPC has a Secretariat to administer its affairs and ensure that decisions are implemented, and each Secretariat is headed by a Secretary and Assistant Secretary. In the larger towns and cities, a Municipal People's Congress (MPC), with its own Secretariat, provides a system of liaison between the BPCs in the area.

Attached to the BPCs and MPCs are a series of BPCs embracing the memberships of professional associations and trades and student unions. These are organised on the same lines as the community forums, with a Secretary and Assistant Secretary, and a series of People's Committees to implement policy decisions.

An obvious potential danger in such a system of direct democracy, with scores of independent decision-making forums, is that many conflicting resolutions might be taken on a specific issue affecting the whole country, preventing the emergence of a clear and coherent policy. It is the function of the General People's Congress and its General Secretariat to avert such confusion.

The GPC meets annually in regular session, and also holds emergency sessions to decide urgent questions. Prior to each GPC meeting, the BPCs hold meetings at which resolutions are passed on each item on an

agenda drawn up by the GPC's General Secretariat (see below). The BPC Secretary and Assistant Secretary then convey their local congress decisions to the GPC in person, where each issue on the agenda is decided on a straight majority vote of BPCs. The key point is that the GPC cannot formulate resolutions on its own account.

The GPC General Secretariat is convened by the GPC Secretary General, and its major responsibility is to draw up the agenda for BPC meetings. It is also charged with overall administrative liaison of the entire network of people's congresses.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's national and foreign policies are implemented in the same way as local policies, through a series of people's committees, each with responsibility for a specific area, for example Housing, Health, and Foreign Liaison. Each of the establishments which the committees administer is termed a Secretariat (rather than a ministry), and the chairman of each committee is termed a Secretary (rather than a minister). Each people's committee is selected by the GPC, to assure accountability.

The Secretaries of the Secretariats form the General Popular Committee, which meets under the chairmanship of a Secretary General, and is roughly equivalent to a cabinet in traditional governmental systems. Again, however, the key difference centres on accountability. In traditional systems, ministers are selected by, and are responsible to, a Prime Minister or President. In the *jamahiri* system, the Secretaries and the General Popular Committee remain directly accountable to the people as a whole. Secretaries (like the members of the General Secretariat of the GPC) are ex-officio members of the GPC, and their performance is closely monitored and scrutinised both at the GPC and at local BPCs.

It is common practice for those who have not taken the trouble to examine the Jamahiriya's political system to dismiss it as just another military dictatorship, with Colonel Qadhafi as its chief. This portrayal may suit the requirements of Washington and other parties who seek to denigrate the Al Fateh Revolution and the Libyan people, but it bears little relation to the facts. It is true, and unsurprising, that Muammar Qadhafi exerts a major influence on the decisions reached by the local Basic People's Congresses. But this influence derives not from any formal position of authority within the system. Qadhafi is not a Prime Minister or a President. His formal title is Leader of the Revolution. In this capacity, which acknowledges his historic role as the guiding spirit of the Al Fateh Revolution, Qadhafi is responsible for propagating the principles and ideals of the revolution, and pressing for their incorporation within policy decisions. But he holds no greater decision-making powers than any other citizen, and the BPCs do sometimes cast aside his suggestions. In the Jamahiriya, no one is exempt from accountability to the people as a whole.



The Basic People's Congresses held their Third Regular Session in December

## Libyan congresses begin debates

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S Basic People's Congresses (BPCs), the grassroots forums in which the Libyan people determine their affairs directly, last month began their Third Regular Session of 1983, convened to reach decisions on a range of key domestic, Arab and international issues. The resolutions will go before the General People's Congress, scheduled to meet in Tripoli in the coming weeks, where they will become Libyan policy if a majority of BPCs approve them. On 21st December the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed a series of items on the BPCs' agenda, which highlight the issues which have been of crucial importance to the Libyan people over the past months.

Tripoli has consistently campaigned for the abolition of the veto powers of the Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council. The Jamahiriya argues that the Big Power veto is undemocratic, allowing a minority of states to flout the expressed will of the international community as a whole. Libya, together with other Third World and Non-Aligned countries, has been particularly outraged at the way in which the United States has used its veto to thwart effective UN action against the Zionist state, in retaliation for its repeated aggressions against the Arab nation. JANA said that the BPCs discussed the possibility of amending the UN Charter to abolish the veto power.

The BPCs also discussed effective measures which might be taken at the United Nations to halt the dangerously escalating nuclear arms race between the West and East blocs, JANA disclosed.

The Jamahiriya opposes nuclear weapons on principle, but it is also directly threatened by the arms race. A major American cruise missile base in Europe will be at Comiso, in Sicily, only a short distance from Libyan territory. The installation of the missiles later this year will pose a direct threat to the Libyan people, and the question of the Comiso missiles was another key item on the BPCs' agenda.

The joint American-Zionist efforts to impose hegemony over Lebanon, at the expense of Syria and of Lebanese Muslims and progressives, has been a major concern of the Jamahiriya ever since the Zionists launched their savage invasion in June 1982. JANA said that one item on the BPCs' agenda was 'discussion of events in Lebanon, and definition of the Libyan people's stand towards them'.

Tripoli has also been alarmed at the recent advances made by the Zionists in black Africa, where the past year has seen a resumption of diplomatic relations between Tel Aviv and Zaire and Liberia. The BPCs' agenda called for 'definition of the Jamahiriya's stand towards those African countries which have restored relations with the Zionist enemy, and towards those thinking of doing so'.

Moves towards unity between the Arab countries of north west Africa have been another major theme of the Jamahiriya's policies in the past year, and the BPCs reviewed the achievements and discussed the prospects for further progress, JANA said.

Until May last year, Libya's Foreign Liaison Bureau functioned without the supervision of a people's committee, and this was identified as a cause of a lack of energy by the Bureau in expanding the Jamahiriya's relations with foreign peoples. In May 1983, a General People's Committee was established to administer the Bureau, but problems evidently continue. On 21st December JANA said that the BPCs were debating 'the failure of the People's Committee of the Foreign Liaison Bureau to circulate to People's Congresses, through the GPC Secretariat, reports on (a) the outcome of visits by Muammar Qadhafi to several friendly countries, (b) the results of the Organisation of African Unity summit in Addis Ababa, and (c) Arab and international events which have implications for the Jamahiriya and the Arab nation, and the measures taken in response by the People's Committee for the Foreign Liaison Bureau'.





Reagan: Called for preparations for a possible total embargo on exports to Libya

## Reagan plans total economic war

THE REAGAN administration in Washington is planning to escalate its economic war against the Libyan people by organising a co-ordinated trade boycott of the Jamahiriya by western countries. The plans have been set in motion on the familiar pretext of alleged Libyan involvement in 'international terrorism'. It is no coincidence that these claims have been backed by a spate of sensational media reports, apparently instigated by Washington. There is every sign, however, that America's allies, and particularly those in western Europe, will resist US efforts to bully them into imposing trade sanctions against Libya.

On 17th December the *International Herald Tribune* disclosed that 'President Reagan has asked the State Department to urge other nations to join in curbs on exports to Libya, particularly of items that may help the Soviet Union'. The paper said that in a memorandum of 9th December to the State Defence and Commerce Departments, the President had 'also barred export licences for a Libyan oil refinery and petrochemical plant being built at Ras Lanuf'.

The Ras Lanuf petrochemicals complex, on the coast 400 kilometres south of Benghazi, is one of the Jamahiriya's most important industrial ventures, and is now nearing completion. One of the firms involved in the project is Foster Wheeler Italiana, the Italian subsidiary of the US-based engineering company.

The *International Herald Tribune* said that 'The (President's) memorandum called for preparations for a possible total embargo on exports to Libya', and the paper added that 'these actions have been

**THE REAGAN administration is moving to organise a comprehensive international trade boycott of the Libyan Jamahiriya, but as Robert Miller shows in this special report, there are already clear signs that America's allies will refuse to co-operate.**

supported by Secretary of State George Shultz, who is said to want to punish Libya for aiding the Chadian rebels (sic) and for purported subversion in the eastern Caribbean'.

The President's memorandum also sought to invoke paranoia concerning the alleged worldwide 'Soviet threat' as a justification for the proposed trade sanctions against Libya. Reagan ordered the State and Defence Departments 'to identify, among other things, those items that could provide - either because of their function or their geographical location - important collateral benefits to the Soviet Union as that country increases its reliance on Libya for naval and other forms of military support'. It is patently absurd to suggest that the Soviet 'relies' on the Jamahiriya for 'military support'. The Soviet Union is a superpower; Libya is a Third World country with a population of only three million.

The *International Herald Tribune* report followed the disclosure by *Middle East*

*Economic Digest* on 9th December that a 'very high level policy review' was under way in Washington on controls over exports to Libya. MEED reported Reagan as having 'taken under advisement' proposals from the State Department to tighten up the rules. This tallies with the *IHT's* assertion that the initiative for the international economic embargo of Libya had come from the Secretary of State. MEED said that the review had been prompted by reports that 'Libya wanted to buy US-made irrigation and oil refinery equipment', and added that the State Department had cited 'overriding foreign policy reasons' for its recommendations for an escalation of Washington's economic war against the Libyan people.

Reagan's proposed new measures, if implemented, would mark the culmination of a process which began soon after he became President. In early 1981 a series of restrictions were imposed, barring the sale to Libya of any goods deemed to have actual or potential military value. In December 1981 Reagan barred US passport holders from travelling to or through Libya (a restriction which has just been re-imposed for the third year running), and urged American companies and individuals in the Jamahiriya to depart. In March 1982 he imposed a ban on imports into the United States of Libyan crude oil, and barred American firms from selling oil and gas industry equipment to the North African country. In a petty move in March last year, Reagan banned Libyan students from pursuing courses in aeronautics and nuclear sciences at US universities.

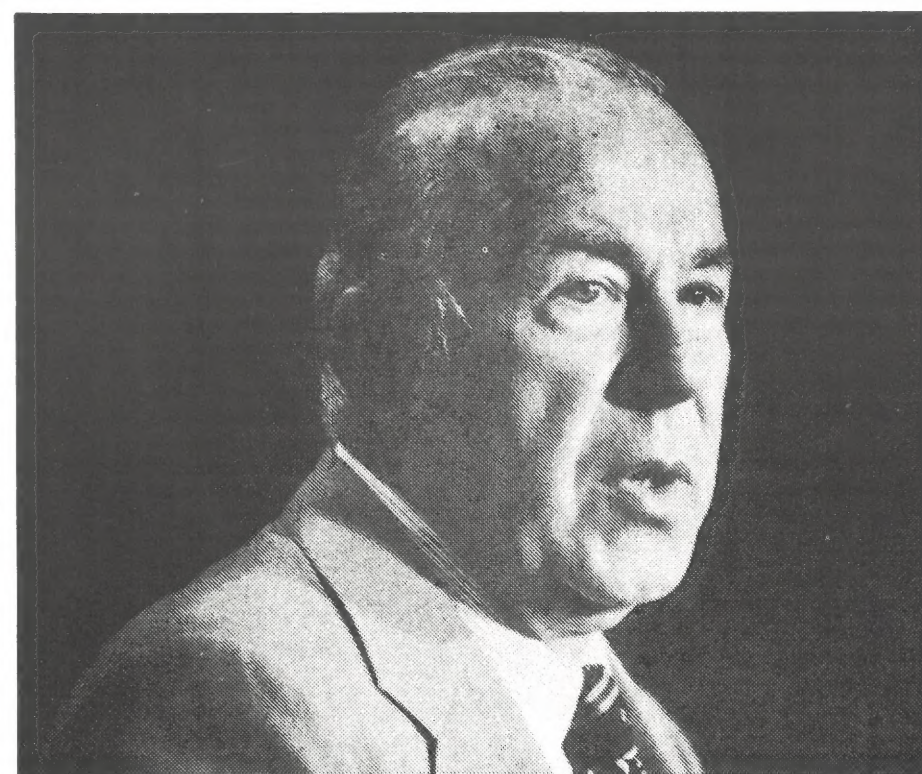
The measures so far imposed have meant that the only US-manufactured goods

entering the Jamahiriya have been agricultural and medical commodities. If Reagan's 9th December memorandum is acted on, it will bring a total halt in US sales in the Jamahiriya, and would also block exports to Libya by Washington's western allies, particularly in Europe.

It is no coincidence that Washington is moving to escalate its economic war against the Libyan people at a time when American interests in the Arab region have suffered a series of major blows. October's daring bomb attack against the American marines in Beirut, and the later bombings of American installations in Kuwait, have caused deep concern in America at the direction - or lack of it - of Reagan's policies, and have badly dented the President's carefully nurtured image as a 'tough guy' who is successfully employing military muscle to extend America's global influence.

Washington has blamed Iranian-backed groups in Lebanon for the bomb attacks, and in December both Reagan and Shultz made public reference to the need to counter 'government-supported terrorism'. The Libyan Jamahiriya has been constantly denigrated by Washington for its support for liberation movements, and it seems likely that Reagan's proposed new trade sanctions against Tripoli are designed to repair his image: he wants to be seen to be acting against a country which, in Washington's twisted terms, backs 'terrorist groups'.

A link between America's setbacks in the Arab homeland and the proposed measures against Libya was strongly indicated in *Time* magazine on 26th December, in a lengthy report entitled 'The Shadow of Terrorism'. The journal, which often acts as a mouthpiece for the US administration, said: 'The US and the rest of the civilised world (!) must try to make it clear to the exporters of terrorism - most conspicuously Iran, Syria, Libya and North Korea - that murder is not a legitimate instrument of national policy. One way to do this,' opined *Time*, 'would be to cut off all diplomatic and commercial contacts with the offending countries'.



Shultz: The Jamahiriya has been constantly denigrated by Washington for its support of liberation movements

When Reagan imposed his boycott of Libyan oil in March 1982, he tried to rope in the Europeans, but they rejected his advances out of hand, seeing no reason to strike at their own interests merely to humour Reagan. There is no reason to believe that the President will be any more successful in making America's allies toe the line this time round. Britain's Committee on Middle East Trade (COMET), an advisory agency to the British Overseas Trade Board, has expressed dismay over Washington's plans. A spokesman told *Jamahiriya Review* that they had not yet heard of any US approach to Britain, and that they 'would be extremely surprised if any action of this sort were being contemplated here. It would run very much counter to all the efforts being made through the Foreign Office and

the Department of Trade to improve relations between Libya and the United Kingdom'.

Similar concern at the possible American moves has been expressed by the Middle East Association, which links British firms trading in the Arab homeland. A spokesman declared: 'We exist to help our members to promote their business in the Middle East, and we would not want to see any non-commercial impediments to trade with Libya'. He added: 'We regard Libya as a good and growing market.'

That Britain will reject any US approach was also indicated by a Department of Trade spokesman, who said: 'We regard the improvement of trade and bilateral relations with Libya as desirable'.

## Reagan resorts to black propaganda

PRESIDENT REAGAN is basing his proposed trade measures against the Jamahiriya on absurd claims that the Libyan people are engaged in 'international terrorism'. The fact that they are not has forced Washington to feed the international media sensational, but totally fabricated, tales to give an appearance of authenticity to Reagan's claims. The period surrounding the discussion of new economic warfare measures has been a spate of such reports, including:

□ 'Secret papers expose Gaddafi's Grenada aim', *Daily Telegraph*, 25th November. This bizarre report, by an unnamed 'Diplomatic Correspondent', alleged that Grenada had been a vital centre for 'Libyan subversion' in the

Caribbean. The story was very long on vague and unsubstantiated assertions, and barren of hard facts.

□ 'Be tougher, US tells Gemayel', *Sunday Times*, 11th December. David Blundy and Cal McCrystal informed their readers that 'intelligence sources' had told them of a plan to capture Yasser Arafat 'and place him under house arrest in a two-storey building in the Libyan town of Sebha'. It is significant that stories alleging Libyan designs against Yasser Arafat have coincided precisely with the PLO leader's shift into the American camp.

□ 'Get Arafat!', *Daily Mail*, 21st December. John Dickie, the paper's Dip-

lomatic Correspondent, 'revealed' that Colonel Qadhafi had paid £200,000 for a seven-man 'hit squad' who would be 'lying in wait' for Yasser Arafat following his departure from Tripoli in Lebanon the day before. The absurdity of Dickie's tale can be gauged from the fact that Arafat sailed not to Tunis, but to North Yemen.

□ 'Terrorist training camp in Nigeria'. Lagos radio on 8th December cited a 'revelation' by the Nigerian newspaper *Punch*, alleging that Libyan agents 'had set up a base in Nigeria where they trained mercenaries and terrorists'. It should be obvious that such a base could never have existed without detection by the Nigerian security services.



## Kreisky and Qadhafi: 'Pull out the MNF'

**AUSTRIA'S ELDER statesmen, former Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, last month visited the Jamahiriya for intensive discussions with Muammer Qadhafi on the Lebanese crisis and the wider problems facing the Arab nation. A key point of agreement was that the current western military units in Lebanon should be withdrawn, and replaced with a more neutral force.**



Elder statesman Bruno Kreisky

THE SITUATION in Lebanon and the wider Arab region was at the centre of two days of intensive discussions in Tripoli last month between Muammer Qadhafi and former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, during which both statesmen affirmed the urgent need to resolve the Lebanese conflict and to end the growing superpower involvement in the Arab homeland. It was also agreed that the current multinational peacekeeping force in Beirut should be replaced by contingents from neutral and non-aligned countries.

Few details of the two leaders' discussions have been released, but the London-based Arabic daily *Al Arab* said on 30th December that on Dr Kreisky's return to Salzburg he stressed his conviction that Muammer Qadhafi was a 'flexible and far-sighted man, who firmly believed that the differences within the Arab homeland could be overcome'.

All peace-loving peoples were deeply anxious about events in Lebanon, said Dr Kreisky, and he confirmed that his views on the dangers posed by the conflict were fully shared by the Libyan leader. There was, said Dr Kreisky, a 'palpable need to mobilise all resources and efforts to avert the dangers'.

A contributing factor in the escalating Lebanese crisis has been the growing tendency of the Multi-National Peacekeeping Force (MNF) in Beirut to take sides in the country's internal affairs. The force, comprising units from the United States, France, Italy and the United Kingdom, was originally installed to offer protection to defenceless Palestinian refugees.

The US and French contingents, in particular, have since changed their role, and have repeatedly turned their weapons against Lebanese national and Syrian forces.

Dr Kreisky revealed that the Libyan leader favoured the withdrawal of the MNF, and its replacement with an effective peacekeeping force comprising units from neutral and non-aligned countries. Dr Kreisky said that he wholeheartedly endorsed this proposal.

### Trade ties strengthened

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S warm political relationship with Austria is complemented by close commercial and economic ties, and recent weeks have seen a series of moves aimed at further strengthening of these links.

On 23rd November the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that Libya's Heavy Industry Secretary, Omar Muntasser, and Mr Erich Schmidt, an Under Secretary at the Austrian Ministry of Trade and Industry, had initialled a wide-ranging co-operation agreement between the two countries. The accord provides for increased co-operation in agriculture, industry, construction and training, and calls for expanded trade links, and increased exchanges of scientific information between specialised institutions in the two countries.

On 3rd January the OPEC news

The two sides had also expressed their concern at the growing superpower involvement in the region. Dr Kreisky had made his position clear in a comment prior to his departure for Tripoli. On 27th December the *Daily Telegraph* quoted him as saying: 'The superpowers are two great elephants which don't know where they're going. They trample on everything and don't know how to get themselves out of the mess.'

Dr Kreisky said that his concern for recent developments within the Palestinian resistance was shared by Muammer Qadhafi, and added that the Libyan leader's stand on the question was 'principled and well-intentioned'.

The former Austrian Chancellor's visit to the Jamahiriya coincided with meetings of the Basic People's Congresses (BPCs), the grassroots forums where the Libyan people determine their affairs directly. Dr Kreisky took the opportunity to visit one of the BPC sessions, and later told the Jamahiriya news agency JANA that he was 'deeply impressed by the jamahiri system,' declaring that the congresses were 'firm foundations for the practice of democracy'.

He added that he had been particularly impressed by the sincerity and vigour of the BPC debates, which 'demonstrated the spirit of personal responsibility in the Jamahiriya'. People were clearly free to speak their minds openly.

Dr Kreisky has consistently argued that West European nations should play a more assertive and constructive role in the Arab region, rather than being content to leave the field open to the superpowers. In March 1982 he underlined this conviction by hosting a visit to Austria by the Libyan revolutionary leader, which enraged Washington, but paved the way for the development of closer ties between the Jamahiriya and other West European countries.

agency, OPECNA, revealed that Libyan and Austrian officials would shortly be meeting to examine specific ways of boosting bilateral trade. An Austrian Chamber of Commerce spokesman was quoted as saying that the country's exports to the Jamahiriya fell by 13.1 per cent to \$100 million in 1982, and that the decline had been even greater last year. Libya had imported only \$78 million worth of Austrian goods in the January-October period. Libya, he said, was Austria's third largest supplier of crude oil, and sales had totalled \$268 million in 1982 - an increase of 35 per cent over 1981.

Austrian firms are playing a key role in the construction of the Jamahiriya's first integrated steelworks at the coastal town of Misrata, and OPECNA said that the project would be another topic for discussion at the meeting of Libyan and Austrian trade officials.



Student numbers have increased more than six-fold since 1969

## Free schooling from kindergarten to university

ONE OF the Al Fateh Revolution's most impressive achievements has been the establishment of a country-wide educational system, offering free schooling at every level, from the kindergarten to university. The Revolution's commitment to education is spelled out in Muammer Qadhafi's *Green Book*, which outlines the guiding principles of Libyan policies: 'Education is a natural right for every human being, and no one has the right to deprive him of this right'.

The Jamahiriya's achievements are particularly impressive when viewed against the situation at the time of nominal independence in 1951. The country had been ruled by foreigners for centuries, and the occupying powers paid no more heed to the educational needs of the Libyan people than they did to other pressing social and economic requirements. During the Italian occupation from 1911 until the Second World War, for example, the Italians deliberately barred Libyans from access to education, in a bid to stunt the country's development and assure Rome's dominance.

The Italians' record speaks for itself. At the end of World War II Libya was divided into three provinces. British forces occupied Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in the north east and north west, and the French controlled the south western region of Fezzan. A British government report to the United Nations, dated 21st December 1951, showed that in Cyrenaica and

**AT THE time of Libya's nominal independence in 1951, the country's education system was a shambles after years of calculated neglect during the Italian occupation. An expansion of educational opportunities has been a consistent top priority in modern Libya, and the Jamahiriya's children and youth are now assured access to free schooling at all levels.**

Tripolitania there were a total of 194 elementary schools with 544 teachers and 29,882 students, of whom only about 3,700 were girls. There were a mere six secondary schools, with 80 teachers and 800 students, of whom 26 were undergoing teacher training. At the same time, the French government reported to the United Nations that the Fezzan province boasted only two schools, with fifty students between them.

Higher education simply did not exist. Indeed, at the time of nominal independence in 1951, only fifteen Libyans had university degrees, mostly gained at Egyptian universities.

### Poverty

Prior to the development of the oil industry in the 1960s, the country's extreme poverty prevented an expansion of education. Even in the oil era, however, progress was slow because the western-backed regime of King Idris lacked any real commitment to the establishment of a modern school system.

Nevertheless, by the academic year 1968/69, 270,617 pupils were enrolled in elementary schools, 29,181 in preparatory schools and 7,181 in secondary schools. Teacher training colleges were catering for 5,159 students, and 1,259 students were enrolled in institutions for religious education.

A notable development in pre-revolutionary Libya was the establishment in 1955 of the country's first university, in Benghazi, although there were initially only 31 students and eleven teachers. Later, faculties of the University of Libya were opened in Tripoli, and in 1957 an Islamic College was set up in the north eastern town of Beida. By the 1968/69 academic year, however, the total university student population had reached only 3,956.

The bare figures for student numbers in the late 1960s, however, mask key flaws in the educational system. First, 71 per cent of students at schools and colleges were male. The proportion in the university was 79 per cent. About half of all Libyans were thus being excluded from participating in





The impact of the Revolution has been equally marked at every level of the educational system

economic and social development, which was a severe drawback for a country whose total population was anyway small.

Another crucial drawback was the low priority given to technical education, which ill-suited a Third World country taking its first steps on the road of development. Moreover, academic facilities were overwhelmingly concentrated in the major towns and cities. Libya is a vast country of 1,754,000 square kilometres. The absence of schools in the countryside, and the poorly developed public transport system deprived thousands of Libyan children of educational opportunities.

#### Investment

The emphasis placed on education by the revolutionary authorities which ousted the monarchy on 1st September 1969 is clear from the new level of spending on educational investment. In the 1970-78 period, LD 462.8 million was earmarked for the sector, compared with only LD 47.6 million, a tenth of the figure, in the 1963-69 period. This high level of investment has continued. The current 1981-85 development plan, for example, allocates one billion Libyan dinars for the expansion of educational facilities.

The impact of the Revolution has been equally marked at every level of Libya's educational system. Under the monarchy, *nursery schooling* was confined to the children of the wealthy; there were only a very few kindergartens, and all were privately owned. In the 1977/73 academic year, there were 22 nursery schools, with 77 classrooms. Students totalled 2,398, of whom 1,344 were boys and 1,054 were girls. Teachers totalled 96. Expansion in the following years was dramatic, and by 1981/82 10,600 children were benefitting from nursery schooling, with roughly equal numbers of boys and girls. The Jamahiriya's kindergartens had 269 classrooms, and there were 569 teachers.

Spectacular progress has also been made at the *primary level*. In the 1969/

70-1981/82 period, the number of primary school classrooms rose by 16,781 to reach 27,527. By 1981/82 there were 718,100 pupils, of whom roughly equal numbers were boys and girls. In the same year primary school teachers numbered 39,214, compared with 12,137 in 1969/70.

At the *preparatory level* the number of pupils increased from 38,200 in 1969/70 to 229,300 in 1981/82. Classrooms increased from 1,210 to 7,921, and teachers from 2,539 to 19,359. Particularly impressive, however, has been the rapid expansion in the proportion of girls at this level of schooling. At the time of the Revolution, girls accounted for a mere 17 per cent of all preparatory school pupils. By 1981/82 the figure had reached 41.3 per cent.

In 1969/70 there were only 9,100 students, 309 classrooms and 882 teachers at the *secondary level*. By 1981/82 the respective figures had rocketed to 57,000, 1,759 and 4,532.

*Teacher training* has also made impressive strides. In 1981/82 there were 27,800 students - 23,100 more than in 1969/70. Again, a key feature has been the growing involvement of Libyan girls, whose numbers have increased at an annual compound rate of 21.3 per cent, compared with 11 per cent for boys. By 1981/82 17,300 girls were training as teachers, compared with only 1,700 in 1969/70.

#### Skilled technicians

The Jamahiriya also boasts a network of *technical schools*, providing instruction at secondary level. In 1969 these institutes, which play a vital role in providing the skilled technicians on which Libya's modern industries depend, had only 1,500 students, all of them boys. By 1981/82 the total had risen to 16,900, of whom 5,300 were girls.

Student numbers in higher education as a whole have increased from 4,100 in 1969/79 to 25,700 in 1981/82, with the number of girls rising from 400 to 6,100. In the 1972/73 academic year the old University of Libya was divided into two separate estab-

lishments, at Benghazi and Tripoli, respectively named the Gar Younis and Al Fateh Universities. In 1976 Al Fateh University opened a Faculty of Education in the south western town of Sebha. The Beida Islamic College, with its Faculties of Arabic Language and Islamic Studies, and of Education and Agriculture, has been merged with Gar Younis University.

In November 1981 Muammer Qadhafi formally inaugurated the Jamahiriya's first technical university at the coastal town of Marsa Brega which is one of the centres of Libya's growing petrochemical industry. The new institution specialises in subjects related to oil and engineering, and will have an eventual student population of 1,700. In addition to a range of well-equipped laboratories, there are seven lecture theatres in the integrated complex, which has about one thousand rooms. The Marsa Brega university will become the focus of technical training in the Jamahiriya, and will incorporate a number of pre-existing training colleges and institutes.

A fourth Libyan university is planned for the southern town of Sebha, in accordance with the policy of dispersing academic establishments to assure access by the entire population.

Even before the opening of the Marsa Brega university, the Jamahiriya's commitment to an expansion of technical education had been underlined by the establishment of a series of Higher Institutions - for Petroleum, Technology, Electronics and for Electricity and Mechanics. Another Higher Institute provides girls with instruction in administration and banking.

*This view of the Jamahiriya's progress in education is based on a report submitted on 28th April last year to the United Nations Sessional Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The report was delivered by Mr Awad S Burwin, the Jamahiriya's Deputy Permanent Representative at UN Headquarters in New York.*

## Light industry expands

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan gives pride of place to industrial development, with spending set at LD 3.9 billion - 23 per cent of overall planned investment. Of this, LD 1.2 billion is earmarked for the development of light industrial ventures, on which LD 95 million is being spent in the current fiscal year alone.

On 16th November the Jamahiriya news agency JANA highlighted the expansion of Libya's light industrial sector, saying that as at the end of last September thirteen new factories had recently entered operation throughout the country. They comprise a livestock fodder plant at Derna, dairy products plants at Homs and Beida, a vegetable and fruit processing plant in the Jebel Akhdar, three fully automatic bakeries in Tripoli, Benghazi and Sebha, the Bani Walid woollen textiles factory, a carton plant at Zawiyeh, a tyre plant at Tajoura, and a plant at Suani for the production of iron girders.

JANA cited sources at the Secretariat of Economy and Light Industry as saying that trial operations at the recently completed sheet glass factory in Aziziyeh were expected to begin early in 1984.

## A healthy balance

THE TOTAL assets and liabilities of commercial banks operating in the Jamahiriya totalled LD 6.9 billion, as at 31st December 1982, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed on 23rd November.

JANA added that LD 596.4 million of the banks' total assets comprised Dinar and foreign currency deposits with the Central Bank of Libya.

## Turkey wins \$300 million housing contract

THE TURKISH firm of Dogus Insaat & Ticaret has won a \$300 million contract to build one of the six neighbourhoods in the new town planned for Marsa Brega. The company will build 1,265 homes plus all infrastructures and amenities.

Marsa Brega, on the coast 200 kilometres south west of Benghazi, is a major petrochemicals centre,



The provision of housing is a high priority

and the new town will accommodate workers at the town's industrial plants.

In September it was disclosed that another Turkish firm, Enka Construction & Industrial Company, had won a \$500 million contract to build two neighbourhoods in the new town, each comprising 2,000 homes with associated utilities and amenities.

Designs for all six neighbourhoods have been completed by the Athens-based firm of McGaughey Marshall McMillan and America's Holmes & Narver, and tenders for the three remaining neighbourhoods are expected to be invited soon.

The Marsa Brega new town scheme is being administered by the Higher Committee for the New Towns of Marsa Brega and Ras Lanuf.

The Jamahiriya is also planning a major new urban development to house workers at the steelworks being built at Qasr Ahmad, near the coastal town of Misrata. Tenders for the first stage of the new town scheme were issued in 1981, but in November it was disclosed that companies have been asked to submit new bids by the end of January 1984.

The Misrata new town was originally planned to have 50,000 residents, rising to 180,000. The town's designer, West Germany's Weidleplan Consulting, have since revised the plans to provide for an initial population of 20,000, rising to 40,000 as later stages are completed.

Companies have now been requested to submit bids for 1,625 detached homes, plus infrastructure and amenities, comprising the first two neighbourhoods of eight planned. The scheme is being managed by the Higher Committee for Qasr Ahmad.

## Nicaragua takes delivery of Falcon aircraft

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has consistently supported the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to preserve their independence in the face of American destabilisation measures which have severely affected Nicaragua's security and economic development. Tripoli's continued commitment to the Central American country was underlined on 23rd November when Managua radio disclosed that the Jamahiriya has donated a Falcon 20 aircraft to Nicaragua, under the terms of a bilateral co-operation agreement between the two countries.

## Dublin-Tripoli trade talks

BILATERAL TRADE relations were at the centre of recent talks in Tripoli between Libyan officials and representatives of Ireland's

Ministries of Agriculture and Energy. The talks reportedly focussed in particular on ways of expanding Irish meat exports to the Jamahiriya and Libyan oil supplies to Ireland.

In the past five years, Ireland has developed a substantial meat and livestock export trade to Libya, valued at about \$300 million per annum. In early 1982 Tripoli signed a contract for the supply of 12,000 tonnes of meat and 80,000 live cattle, and this was extended last August to cover 20,000 tonnes of meat and 150,000 live cattle worth \$150 million.

In the first eleven months of last year, the Jamahiriya supplied Ireland with 129,239 tonnes of crude oil, valued at \$29.69 million.

## Railway development gathers pace

TWO MAJOR contracts have been awarded to Hungarian and Chinese firms for railway development in the Jamahiriya. Hungary's Tesco/Uvaterv company won a \$30 million award in November to design and draw up tender documents for the Tripoli metro. Preliminary studies will be ready by 1985 and initial construction is expected to start in 1987. Tesco/Uvaterv's contract is for completion in 1989.

The construction contract for a 170 kilometres railway line between Tripoli and Ras Jadir on the Tunisian frontier has been awarded to Chinese firms. On 17th November the New China News Agency announced that an agreement for the scheme had been signed in Peking by the Jamahiriya's Communications and Marine Transport Secretary, Mr Al Bukhari Salim Huda and China's Railways Minister, Mr Chen Puru. The new railway will join with a proposed line from the Tunisian border to Sfax in southern Tunisia. Tesco/Uvaterv will undertake construction supervision under a \$10 million contract awarded in 1981.

The Tripoli-Tunisia rail link will be the first in the Jamahiriya's railway system. The second stage is a 210 kilometres line from the Libyan capital to Misrata, which has already been designed by Britain's Mott, Hay & Anderson. The third link will stretch 922 kilometres from Misrata southwards to the desert town of Sebha, and will be used mainly to transport iron ore from near Sebha to the steel works now under construction at Misrata.

When these western lines have been completed, work will start on a major 1,300 kilometres line along the coast from Misrata to the Egyptian frontier, whose cost may be as high as \$40 million. ▶





Resolutions were passed at the last GPC calling for greater efforts to stimulate production in the agricultural sector

► Mott Hay & Anderson have already completed designs for the central railway station in the Libyan capital, and Tesco/Uvater is working on designs for railway sidings at the Zuwara and Abu Kammash industrial complexes, which lie to the west of Tripoli near the route of the Tripoli-Ras Jadir rail link. The sidings at Zuwara will serve a planned 120,000 tonnes per annum aluminium smelter and an associated 175,000 tonnes per annum petroleum coke plant. At Abu Kammash, the sidings will serve a mammoth chemical works, opened in 1980, which produces a wide range of salt-based products.

## New offices for ARBIFT

MAJOR NEW offices of the Arab Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade (ARBIFT) have been officially opened in Abu Dhabi and Dubai in the United Arab Emirates.

The bank was jointly established in 1975 by Libya, the United Arab Emirates and Algeria, and its initial capital of \$16 million has since been raised to \$81 million. ARBIFT undertakes a full range of activities, from participating in major international loans to the provision of regular banking services to individual customers through a network of local branches. Since its formation, it has taken part in international loans totalling \$38.2 billion.

ARBIFT is one of the Arab homeland's most successful financial institutions. In the 1979-82 period, it distributed 28 per cent of its annual revenues to shareholders, and is planning to open ten new branches - four in Abu Dhabi, three elsewhere in the UAE, and one each in Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore.

The new Dubai office was officially inaugurated on 6th November by UAE Minister of Finance and Industry Sheikh Hamdan Bin Rashid. The Abu Dhabi office was opened the day before by Mr Saeed al Ghath, Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs, who was deputising for Sheikh Surour Bin Muhammed, Chamberlain of the Presidential Court.

## Trade credits for Poland

THE JAMAHIRIYA provided Poland with \$230 million in trade credits last year, the *Financial Times* has disclosed. The credits were used to buy one million tonnes of crude oil which Poland refined and re-exported in exchange for hard currencies.

## Bright outlook for cereals harvest

IN RECENT years Libya's planners have expressed concern at the performance of the country's agricultural sector, where output has fallen short of targets. At last year's February meeting of the General People's Congress, resolutions were passed calling for greater efforts to stimulate production, and for a reduction in expensive food imports.

Shortly after, Muammer Qadhafi paid a series of visits to agricultural projects, where he held extensive talks on productivity with Libyan farmers. The revolutionary leader also urged the need for action at a special meeting last April with the General

People's Committee for Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform.

An indication that the situation may now be improving came on 16th November, when the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that almost 100,000 hectares had been sown with wheat and barley in the 1983-84 season. The Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan envisages a production of 428,800 tonnes of wheat and 105,000 tonnes of barley in 1985, compared with respective figures of 140,500 tonnes and 71,500 tonnes in 1980.

The plan allocates LD 3.1 billion to agricultural development, accounting for 18.2 per cent of total plan spending. Only the industrial sector, with spending set at LD 3.9 billion, has a higher priority.

## Turkey maintains trade ties

RECENT FIGURES show that Turkey is maintaining its status as one of the Jamahiriya's major trading partners in the Mediterranean, although there has been a slight decrease in the value of bilateral trade over the past year, as Libya has slowed the pace of its development programme in the face of the world oil glut and lower oil revenues.

In the first eight months of 1983, Turkey's imports from Libya totalled \$543.4 million, slightly up on the same period in 1982. Exports to the Jamahiriya, in contrast, fell 19 per cent to \$137.4 million.

Turkish firms have been particularly successful in the Jamahiriya's construction industry, winning a string of major urban

development contracts worth billions of dollars. Suppliers of consumer goods have also enjoyed increasing sales, however. In 1979, for example, Turkish firms exported a mere 400 tonnes of textiles to the Jamahiriya, worth \$2.4 million. Two years later, the figure had rocketed to 6,682 tonnes, mostly of ready-to-wear garments, valued at \$134 million.

## New UK shipping service

THE OT North African Line 11 of Italy has added a new fortnightly conventional service to its existing sailings from Europe to the Libyan Jamahiriya. The company's general agent in the United Kingdom, Kersten Hunik, says that container transshipment from Britain, via Antwerp, is now available, and that if demand is sufficient, direct conventional services will also be offered from the UK.

OT North Africa 11 already provides fortnightly roll-on, roll-off container services between Venice and Tripoli, Benghazi and Misrata.

## Britain exports £166 million

FIGURES JUST released by the United Kingdom Department of Trade show that British-Libyan trade was last year running at about the same level as in 1982.

In the January-July period, British exports to Libya stood at £166.551 million, compared to £165.885 million in the same period of 1982. Libya exported £133.868 million worth of goods to Britain, mostly crude oil and oil products, in the first seven months of last year, down from the £144.063 million in the equivalent period of 1982.

British exports to Libya have been adversely affected in the past two years by the world oil glut, which has prompted the Jamahiriya to take economy measures and slow the pace of its development spending. UK sales in Libya peaked at £530.416 million in 1981, but fell in 1982 to £260.937 million.

The Jamahiriya's oil exports to Britain, once at a high level, decreased during the 1970s as North Sea fields came on stream, but they were given a major boost in March 1982, when the Reagan administration imposed a ban on US imports of Libyan crude oil. Tripoli responded by redoubling its sales efforts in western Europe, and in 1982 Libya's exports to Britain had risen to £342.476 million, compared with a mere £74.810 million in 1980.

## Arab Homeland

- **15th November:** Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, confers by telephone with Syrian Foreign Minister Abdelhalim Khaddam.
- **23rd November:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the Basic People's Congress in Vienna has sent a message to Muammer Qadhafi affirming their commitment to Arab unity and to the Al Fateh Revolution.
- **23rd November:** The Phalangist regime in Beirut announces that it is 'freezing' relations with the Libyan Jamahiriya.
- **24th November:** Muammer Qadhafi receives Sheikh Ali Musallam, the personal envoy of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia.
- **28th November:** Tunisian Premier Muhammed M'Zali receives in Tunis Mr Fawzi Shakshuki, Libya's Planning Secretary, who is attending meetings of the Libyan-Tunisian Joint Economic Committee.
- **30th November:** Major Abdesalam Jalloud confers in Jeddah with Prince Majid Bin Abdul Aziz, the Amir of the Holy Mecca region in Saudi Arabia.
- **5th December:** The Joint Libyan-Tunisian Technical Committee begins a series of meetings in Tunis to discuss an expansion of technical co-operation between the two countries as part of a wider process of integration.

## International

- **15th November:** The Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi confers in Tripoli with Dr Vassos Lyssarides, the Leader of the Cypriot Socialist Party.
- **16th November:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA confirms that Tripoli recently refused landing permission to a Ghanaian airliner because it had been en route from Occupied Palestine.
- **19th November:** Mr Tomas Borge, member of the National Command of the Nicaraguan Sandinista Front, confers in Managua with the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau. During the meeting he reaffirmed Nicaragua's solidarity with the Libyan people in their efforts to preserve their independence and territorial integrity.
- **22nd November:** Mr Cornel Mihulecea, Chairman of Romania's State Committee for Nuclear Power, arrives in Tripoli at the start of a visit to the Jamahiriya.
- **22nd November:** Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud confers in Tripoli with Greek Deputy Premier Carlos Papalos. Also present at the meeting were the Greek Ambassador to the Jamahiriya and the Assistant Secretary of the Foreign Liaison Bureau.
- **23rd November:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA reveals that Muammer Qadhafi has received Mr Erich Schmidt, Under Secretary at the Austrian Ministry of Commerce, who conveyed a message to the Libyan leader from Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.
- **27th November:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Muammer Qadhafi has conferred by telephone with Upper Volta's leader, Captain Thomas Sankara.
- **27th November:** A Turkish delegation, headed by the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, arrives in Tripoli at the start of a visit to the Jamahiriya.
- **28th November:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA reports a speech to the UN General Assembly by Mr Ali Abdesalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative to the world body, reaffirming Tripoli's deep abhorrence at the

policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa, and calling for an international boycott of the racists.

- **28th November:** Mr Peter Onu, Acting Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, ends a visit to the Jamahiriya.
- **30th November:** Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, confers in Tripoli with the visiting Minister of Defence of the Seychelles.
- **30th November:** Revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi confers with a special envoy of Gabon's President Omar Bongo, who conveyed a letter from the West African country's leader covering bilateral relations between the two peoples.
- **2nd December:** Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud holds a lengthy meeting in Addis Ababa with Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of Ethiopia's Provisional Administrative Military Council. Also present was Mr Fikri Selassie, the Military Council's General Secretary.
- **3rd December:** Mr Muhammad Ubayd ash Shukri, the Jamahiriya's Utilities Secretary, confers in Tripoli with Mr Ion Stanesco, Chairman of Romania's Foreign Construction Department.
- **4th December:** Mr al Bukhari Salim Hudeh, the General People's Committee Secretary for Marine Transport and Communications, confers with Mr Ion Stanesco, the Chairman of Romania's Foreign Construction Department.
- **5th December:** Mr Abdel Hafiz az Zulaaytini, the Libyan Jamahiriya's Secretary for Education, confers in Tripoli with Mr Ion Stanesco, Chairman of Romania's Foreign Construction Department.
- **8th December:** Cypriot Minister of Agriculture Dimitrio Christodolou leaves Tripoli at the end of a visit to the Jamahiriya.

## Jamahiriya

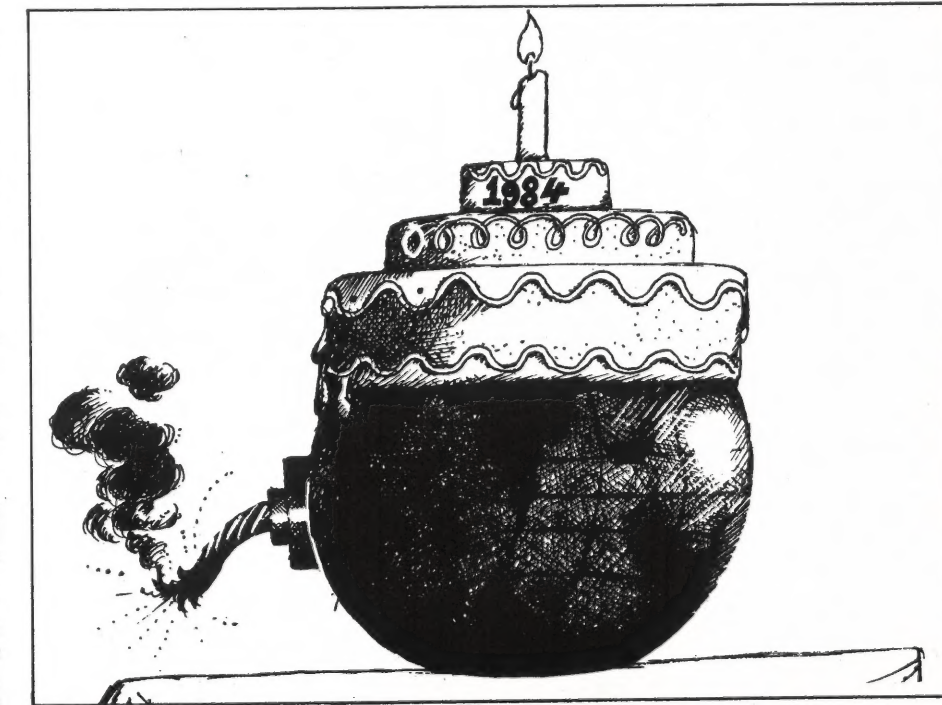
- **15th November:** Muammer Qadhafi confers with the Secretaries of the Educational People's Congresses of Libya's Al Fateh and Gar Younis Universities.
- **3rd December:** Revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi confers with the General Educational Congress for Universities, which is

currently meeting at Benghazi Gar Younis University.

- **5th December:** Colonel Qadhafi meets with the People's Committee of Benghazi Municipality.
- **8th December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the students at Gar Younis University and at the Houn Higher Institute have sent messages to Muammer Qadhafi expressing solidarity with the Syrian people in their confrontation with Israeli and US aggression.
- **8th December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Muammer Qadhafi has made an inspection tour of Benghazi, Libya's second largest city. He was accompanied by the Secretary of the General People's Committee, the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Economy and Light Industry, and by the Secretary of the Benghazi Municipality General People's Committee.

## Jamahiriya Economic News

- **18th November:** Turkey's Dogus Company reveals that the total value of its current contracts in the Jamahiriya stands at \$750 million. The firm's work includes underground water storage schemes, housing and the construction of 300 kilometres of roads.
- **28th November:** Tripoli radio discloses that the output of the first ammonia plant at the coastal town of Marsa Brega in the first three quarters of last year totalled 218,764 tonnes. In the same period, the output of the second ammonia plant at Marsa Brega reached 269,183 tonnes, bringing its total production since opening at the end of 1982 to 335,417.
- **6th December:** Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform Secretary Abou Zaid Omar Dourda meets with Libya's General Board of Grain Production to discuss this year's ploughing programme and output targets, and to discuss means of ensuring the availability of all necessary equipment.
- **9th December:** It is disclosed that the Tripoli office of Japan's Marubeni Corporation is now also being used as the liaison services office for the China State Construction Engineering Corporation.





# The GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

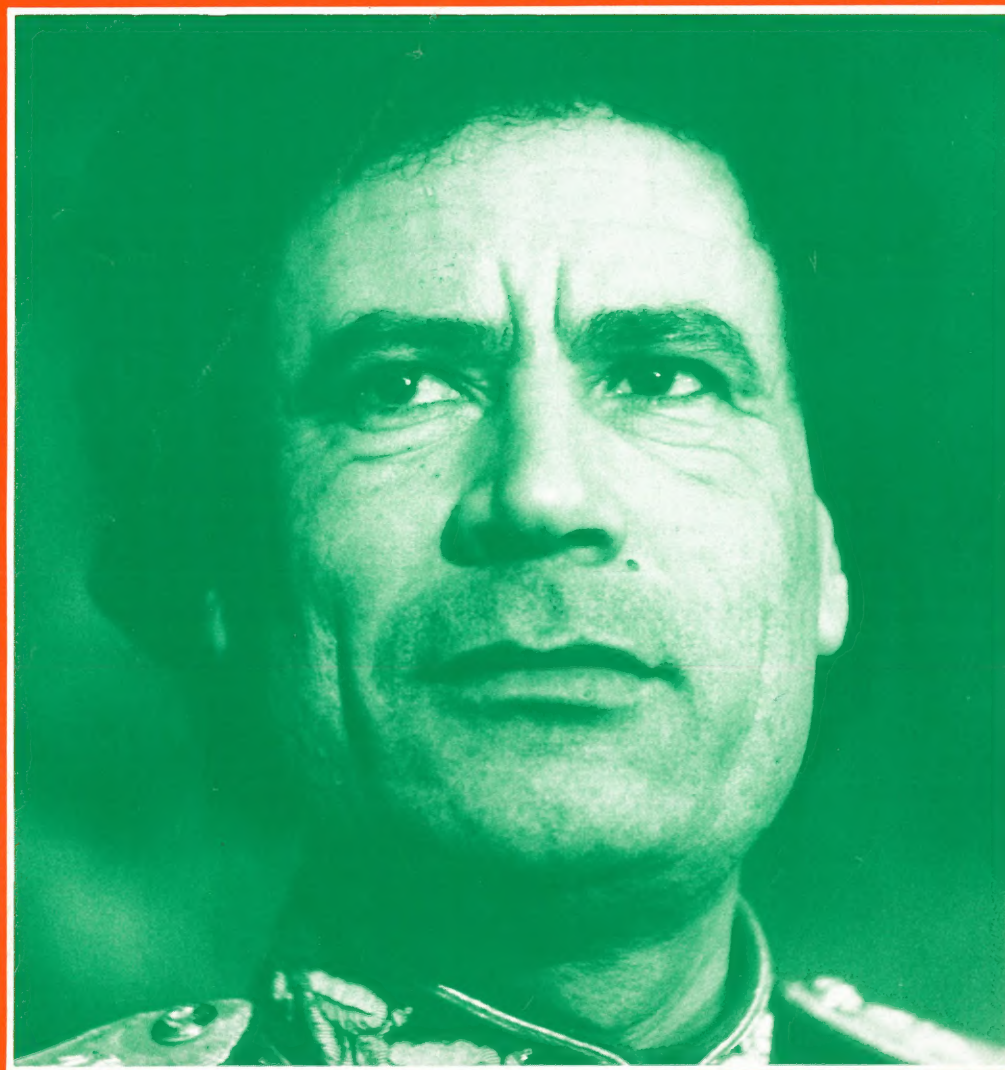
The solution of the  
problem of Democracy

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The solution of the  
Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the  
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In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

# jamahiriya review

February 1984

Price 50p

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